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Some Earnest Thoughts on the Alliance.

AN ADDRESS

BY



BEN TERRELL,

Past National Lecturer N. F. A. and I. U., and
President of Confederated Organizations.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
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1891.

SOME EARNEST THOUGHTS ON THE ALLIANCE.

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BEN TERRELL.

Brothers and sisters of the Alliance, I wish to talk to you for a short time, freely and without reserve. I know you all wish to see the Alliance succeed. Now, let us sit down and have a confidential chat. I say that if the Alliance effect good the work must be done in the sub-Alliance, and if we can keep them educated, united and active, we need not concern ourselves about the county, state and national; those are combinations to obtain greater strength and a wider range of unity, to concentrate the power of the subs that it may be more effective. These delegated Alliances live but one year and then return to their mother, the sub from whom they obtained life, and are again brought into existence for another year. But it is not of them that I wish to speak. I want to talk to the members of the sub-Alliances, to those upon whom all depends.

It is wisely ordained that nothing can be accomplished without labor, and so if we would have the Alliance a success we must be willing to each of us work to that end. There are three things to which I call your attention; that I consider necessary to the maintenance and upholding of the sub-Alliances. If you will do these three things I will be responsible for the condition of your Alliance.

REGULAR ATTENDANCE.

The first thing is, attend the meetings, all of you—not now and then, but every one of them. Now, don't say you can't, my brother; you must. If all stayed away, then the Alliance would die out, and you must remember that we believe in equal rights to all, and if you stay at home you can't expect your brother to do otherwise. Will you come? Don't say the others won't. Yes, or no! The life of the Alliance depends upon

your answer. Nothing can be done unless you attend the meetings. If you will, success is sure. A child can't learn unless he studies his lesson. You can't have the benefits of the Alliance unless you meet with it. A good way to do would be to appoint each member a committee of one to invite themselves to turn out at every meeting, and to see that they were on hand without fail. This would be the most effective way, and if each member would consider the responsibility resting on him there would not be many absent at roll call. The next best plan is to elect a committee on good of the order. Put your very best men on it, and make it their duty to look after any who absent themselves from the meetings. Let that committee go in kindness, and they will generally succeed. I would not try force. A fine does no good. You can lead, but never drive the American people. Make the meetings pleasant and interesting; let all do their part to that end, and you will soon have a splendid Alliance. I have no excuse to make for discussing the matter of attendance, as it is one of prime importance, and I am not speaking to you for fame's sake, but to instruct, to cause you to reflect, and urge you to do your duty. No man can do more; and none should do less.

THE IMPORTANCE OF UNITY.

The second thing is unity. You know that there is no minority in the Alliance. The majority must rule, and all true Alliance men are a unit. Now in this unit rule is to be found the strength of the Alliance. Without it the organization would not be of any effect. I remember once, when a soldier in Virginia, we passed on an old lady standing in the yard close by the road, and as we passed she asked if the Texas brigade would pass that way. Some one told her that we were the Texans. The old lady raised her head, took a good look, and then with surprise and contempt she tossed her head and said: "Humph, you are just like other people!" She had expected to see something peculiar in the Texans. And so with the Alliance, if you destroy unity it is just like other people; each taking his own course, no concert of action, what could you effect in that way? Absolutely nothing. But, says some one, we will differ; we can't all think alike. True, but you are not compelled to think alike to act together. The Creator, in his wisdom, never in-

tended that we should all think the same. In the very nature of things that would destroy all progress, for if men had thoughts alike since the world began then we would not be as we are. But in matters pertaining to the good of all, the majority should rule and the minority concede the point, and the whole Alliance act as a unit. But, says another, the majority may be wrong. That is possible ; but even then, it is best to stand together. Don't divide. Be a unit. Whatever you do, remember a house divided against itself must fall. Now let me urge you to think over this matter earnestly. Differ with each other you must and should, but differ like brothers. Talk the matter over honestly, concede something, work to obtain perfect unity. It is best, brother; you can do it if all will try honestly. Do not be captious with each other; never impugn a brother's motives or criticise his remarks. Be polite, manly, discreet. Remember the cause for which you are working is the people's. Success is what you want, and to obtain that you must have unity. Suppose you were to introduce a measure and it was carried; would you not think all should help to carry it out? I do, and no matter whether I agreed with you exactly or not, or thought another way better, I would go with the Alliance. I would do my part, and after awhile if it should fail, I would not say I told you so. Don't do that. Small people do that way. Rather say, come brothers, let's try again; we have more experience now; let us up and to work again. It is folly to find fault with each other, no good can come of that. It is neither wise nor manly, but on the other hand it is unwise, unmanly and contrary to the spirit, genius and obligations of the order. You should do all in your power to maintain unity. Your promise is to work as a unit. Success demands it. Your own good judgment will dictate and your conscience approve such a course. How tremendous a power is union. Why not unite from Maine to California? The interests of the farmers are the same from one end of the country to the other, and it is not intelligent to oppose each other. Ah, brothers, we can't afford to cavil over small matters. There is a mighty struggle before us, a great power to meet, a victory to be won, or we can never see the fruition of our hopes. Let us then lay aside all things (whatsoever) that would hinder and be once more a united people, with liberty for our watch-word. He that does not wish to see the day when

prejudice, hate and revenge shall disappear, and when good will and unity that take their place, cannot be a patriot or Christian. God speed the day when sectionalism shall be no more, when there shall be no North, South, East or West, but we, in one harmonious whole, in glorious union dwell. This is one of the objects of the Alliance, and we should each of us do all we can to assist in its consummation.

THE VALUE OF EDUCATION.

The third thing is, educate. You remember the old proverb, "Knowledge is power," and you must be informed or you can not succeed. This, my brother, is a serious matter. It is a responsibility you can not shirk. No one else can assume it for you. Webster said, "We must educate or we must perish," and the same holds good to-day. Yea, there never was a time in the history of this country when we had such need to study well the policies of the government and their effects upon the different classes of the country. Now, my brother, this is a reasonable thing for you to do: simply educate; seek the truth; think for yourself; shake off prejudice, be a patriot; take a hand in the government of the country; discuss measures, not men; cleave to principle, not party; and let all of your acts as a citizen be well considered, manly conscientious, and in the interest of your wife and little ones. If you will do this, all is well, for the heavens never looked down upon an intelligent, educated people who lost their liberty. I say to you again, attend your sub-Alliances and educate each other. Supply your Alliance with reading matter that will best educate them upon subjects of the greatest interest. You will find *THE NATIONAL ECONOMIST* one of the very best educators in the country. I would recommend that as many take it as possible. *Your State organ should be taken by every man in the State.* The importance of sustaining the reform press can not be over-estimated; the people must be informed, and the newspapers are cheap and the most effective means to disseminate information. A circulating library for the Alliance is an excellent thing, and you can form one with scarcely any cost. *THE ECONOMIST* will publish this year a list of twelve books—one each month; the twelve will cost \$1.50 by subscribing for the year, or 15 cents single copy. The first, *The Hand-Book of*

Facts, is now ready to send out. In this way you can soon post yourselves. Then, by discussion in your sub-Alliances, you will learn to express your thoughts correctly, and then you are prepared to take a hand (with credit to you and the Alliance) in all matters pertaining to your interests. This is as it should be. It is what the Alliance was organized for, and it is for you to force success to perch upon your banner, by each member taking hold and going to work at once. With the farmers thus educated and equipped for the duties of citizenship, equal rights to all would be maintained, and the tree of liberty flourish forever in this the home of the brave. Will you do this for yourselves? No one else can do it for you. Would that you could see the need to educate as I do. My brothers, hear me! Hear me for the sake of those you love. Your wife (her whom you have sworn to love until death do you part), your little ones, your country, all demand of you that you educate, and be men.

THE DEMANDS OF THE ALLIANCE.

Having discussed the necessity of good attendance, unity of action and education in the sub-Alliance, let us examine somewhat as to our national demands. These demands should be just, conservative and effective. The Alliance could not sustain itself in making any demand that would not benefit the greatest part of the people, or that would hurt any legitimate business. The rights of all should be respected. Wisdom should guide and conservatism walk by her side. A fair expression of the people's will should be had on every measure before a demand is made. Let us see if this has not been accomplished by the Alliance.

Let us now go to St. Louis and meet with the National. I consider that to have been the greatest meeting (if judged by the results flowing from it) that has ever been held in this country. The action taken has already done more to cause reform than all the pretended efforts of the politicians since the war. The men who represented the farmers in that convention were the peers morally, mentally, and as patriots, of any like body that has assembled in our country for many a long day. Their acts will live after them, and they will long be remembered by their fellow men. They indeed did their duty well, and the date, December 3-7, 1889, will go into history as

that on which the second declaration of independence was proclaimed, and one that will be remembered by patriots and lovers of liberty everywhere with equal joy and gladness, as the 4th day of July, 1776. Our fathers on that day declared for liberty from British oppression, and the Alliance (representing the farmers) on the 6th day of December, 1889, declared for liberty from the dominion of money and demanded the abolition of all unequal, unjust, and class legislation, reaffirming that this should and shall be a government of the people, for and by the people, with equal rights to all and special privileges to none, as it was intended by those who shed their blood to establish it. The patriot forefathers were compelled to wage a long and bloody war before they obtained their liberty, and we cannot expect to obtain ours without effort. Although the war we are called to wage is not one to be decided by the sword, it will require as much intelligence, moral courage and determination to succeed. It will require the united effort of labor (no matter how employed) throughout the whole country. Now, to obtain this organization is a necessity, and in my judgment the Alliance meets the needs of the times. It is an effort of the people, and does not depend on agitation or leadership. The Alliance has no leader. The people lead.

HOW AUTHORITY IS DELEGATED IN THE ALLIANCE.

I wish now to call your attention to the method by which the delegates to the National Alliance are elected; and if the members of the sub-Alliances will do their duty in selecting representatives, their best men will be in the National Alliance. The subs discuss all questions of interest to the people, political or otherwise, and thoroughly inform themselves upon the same. They then select their best man, *morally and mentally*, to represent their views in the County Alliance. Here all the subs meet by representatives. Again, they discuss measures and select the best men from the County Alliance to represent them in the State Alliance. Here all of the counties are represented, and again every measure is fully discussed, and again, the best men selected to represent the State in the National Alliance, where a full and free discussion is again had and the demands of the Farmers Alliance given to the world. Now, can any one devise a better plan to obtain the true sentiment of the farmers

of the country? If they can, then let them produce it; if not, shut up and not whine that other people are not fairly represented by the National Council, calling the men whom you have seen proper to honor and trust dishonest demagogues, pretending to represent the people but really intent upon their own aggrandizement. Now, I have this to say, that if there is a single such man in office in the Alliance, then some sub Alliance is to blame. You know your members. They are your neighbors and friends, and you surely have at least one man in each sub that you can trust implicitly; send him. Then if all the subs send their best men, surely they can get one good man in the county. Now a majority of the votes in the State Alliance are required to send a delegate to the national. The whole matter is in the hands of the people, and I say again that if a man go as a delegate to the National Alliance he must be the choice of a majority of the farmers of that State, and fairly represent their ideas. Now, as the Alliance is always a unit, there is no excuse for any member not supporting the demands. A man who cannot conscientiously do so should, in honor to himself and in justice to the Alliance, step down and out. Every member must support them or the Alliance cannot accomplish anything. Whenever you violate that principle of unity it is shorn of its strength and will be jeered at and mocked by men, as was Sampson of old.

THE QUESTION OF LAND REFORM.

Having looked into the methods of selecting the delegates to the National Alliance and finding that they do represent the members of the order, I wish now to discuss the three most important demands: those in regard to land, transportation and money.

I will first take up the demand on land, and consider the necessity for it, and that it can not do harm to other interests, and that it is intended to correct tendencies that will enslave our people if they are permitted to continue. It reads thus:

4. That we demand the passage of laws prohibiting the alien ownership of land, and that Congress take early steps to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by the aliens and foreign syndicates; and that all lands now held by railroad and other corporations in excess of such as is actually used and needed by

them, be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

Now, in defence of this demand I wish to call your attention to a few facts in regard to the matter of who owns our land. Let us first consider the amount owned and controlled by aliens. They own in fee simple 61,900,000 acres. They own and control by mortgage railroad lands to the amount of 90,000,000 acres. Let us say that they own one-half that, which would be 45,000,000. Now let us look at the sum they have invested in farm mortgages. Says the Michigan Bureau of Labor, there are mortgages on the farms of this country to the amount of \$3,083,572,000. Notwithstanding this sum is beyond human conception, we believe it does not represent the full amount of mortgage indebtedness in the United States. Interest at 8 per cent per annum entails an actual tax upon the farmers of \$246,685,260.

But let us assume that the estimate is correct, Now I wish to call your attention to some information obtained by the Alliance in Kansas.

No. of farms.....	270,000
Average value.....	\$2,600
Making a grand total value of.....	\$702,000,000
With a mortgage indebtedness of.....	\$146,563,134

This would show that the estimate of the Michigan Bureau of Labor is not too high, but rather low. Now if we assume that one-half of all mortgages are held by aliens, we would have \$1,541,786,000 that they have invested in the farms of the country. Now say that they have five dollars on each acre, and we have 308,357,200 acres controlled by them through farm mortgages. If the above figures are correct, and I believe them to be, for the railroad would hardly mortgage and surrender control of 90,000,000 acres of land without at least receiving one-half of its value, and to be sure let us cut the per cent of alien money invested in farm mortgages from one-half to one-fourth, we would still have \$154,178,600. Then our table would read thus.

Land owned in fee-simple, acres.....	61,900,000
Amount of railroad land owned.....	45,000,000
Amount of land owned on farm-mortgage.....	154,178,000

Giving a grand total of 261,078,600

Acres land owned by aliens in this country. Now, let us estimate that the land is worth on an average \$4 per acre, then we would have \$1,044,314,400 money invested. Say this draws 8 per cent interest, and you will find that aliens are receiving annually from the land of America the sum of \$83,345,152. Here is the amount of land owned in the United States.

In farms	697,906,375
Owned by railroads....	172,816,000
Owned by aliens in fee-simple	61,900,000
Owned by speculators.....	20,500,000
Total of land owned.....	953,122,375

Owned by aliens in fee-simple	61,900,000
Nominally owned by railroads, but by aliens.....	45,000,000
Nominally in farms, but by aliens on mortgage.....	154,178,600

Total by aliens.....	261,078,600
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Or a little over one-fourth of America's soil owned by those who owe no allegiance to this country. Is there any need for me to go any further to show the necessity for the demand. But I will present one more table. For want of statistics I will be compelled to make an estimate of the money in farm mortgages held by home corporations, and I believe I will not be over the amount if I place it at the same as the aliens. That would give us the amount of land owned by the classes embraced. And would read thus:

Amount by railroad, minus 45,000,000 by aliens.....	127,816,600
Amount by aliens all told.....	261,078,600
Amount by home corporations on farm mortgages.....	154,178,600

Total owned by aliens and corporations.....	543,073,200
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Or over one-half of all the land in the United States that has an owner. Now, if we leave off the farm mortgage part we would have:

Owned by aliens	61,900,000
Owned by railroads.....	172,816,000

Total outside of farms.....	234,716,000
Total interest in farms.....	308,357,200

Total of all land.....	543,073,200
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These tables are taken from United States statistics except the amount owned in the farm mortgages by corporations, and can be relied upon. The amount invested in farm mortgages is estimated at one-fourth of all the farm values, and it will go **over rather than under**. Now, when we remember that all of this has been accomplished since 1865, is it not time that the people put a stop to it, and say, not another foot, gentlemen! What say you, friends? When we go to elect our Congressman in 1892, shall we not say to him, will you pass this law? *yes or no*, and no equivocation! The time has come when if we would maintain our liberty we must be up and doing.

No one can contemplate the above facts without alarm, and when we come to investigate history we find that republics cannot live where the land is monopolized, for the reason that he that owns the land owns those that live on it. The Alliance does not ask that their land be confiscated, but that none but individual citizens shall in the future be allowed to buy or become possessed of another foot in this country. No one can deny the absolute necessity for this demand, and when we look at the condition of Ireland, on account of the non-resident landlord system, it seems to me that the blood of Americans would boil with indignation, and that the next Congress would be composed of men who would look to the interests of the country, and stop fighting each other on party lines long enough to pass this law and check this monopolizing the land by aliens and corporations. I again affirm that they who own the land own the people on it, and if the alien and corporate ownership is not prohibited by law in the next twenty-five years our people will be virtually owned by the aliens and corporations. If you will stop and consider that there are only 335,966,995 acres of land that is available for farms not owned by aliens, railroad speculators, and in farms (and included in this are all of the towns, cities, villages, etc., which will reduce the amount very greatly), you will find that in a short time our young men when they want homes will be at the mercy of aliens, corporations, and speculators. God grant that our people may awake from their lethargy before it is too late to save America from the fate of all nations that have forgotten that "eternal vigilance in the price of liberty."

Now, let us see if this would hurt or benefit the legitimate industries of the country, for I am opposed to the Alliance making any demand that would not result in the accomplishing of good to the greatest number of our people. The Alliance is a patriotic movement, and has no excuse for life except to bless and benefit all who are engaged in building up our grand country. Would it hurt our manufacturers to retain the \$83,-345,152 in interest that goes from the proceeds of our lands each year to be spent in foreign countries? Would it hurt their market if the enormous amount of \$1669,680,304 in interest now paid by the farmers to home and foreign land owners were left with the people? The consumption of their product would increase, and a better market would be the consequence. The merchant and mechanic would also be benefited. The demand is just. It is in the interest of the whole people, and therefore the law should be passed.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF TRANSPORTATION.

The next demand of the Alliance, to which I wish to call your attention, is to one on transportation, and reads thus:

3. Resolved, That we demand that there shall be a rigid and just national and State governmental control of the means of communication and transportation. And if this does not cure existing abuses, we demand that the government own and control said lines of communication and transportation.

The first thing to be considered in the discussion of this demand is the necessity for governmental control of the transportation of the government. When we come to consider the relation of transportation to the prosperity of the country, and the power of those controlling it to tax both the consumer and producer at pleasure (and to any amount they may see proper), we must see that a power should not be placed in the hand of corporations (whose only object is to make money) without at the same time giving power to control them fairly and honestly in the interest of the people and of the government, and that control should be rigid and just. The right of the government to do so has been declared by the highest courts, and the Alliance in making the demand is not asking the government to do more than its plain duty. They further demand that such control shall be exercised as will cure existing abuses, and if by such control the abuses can not be cured, then it is the will of the sovereign people that the government

own and control them. The railroad is but an improved highway, like the turnpike or the canal, and owes its existence to exercise of government's sovereignty; it has been established for public use. The right of eminent domain, exercised by the State in calling the railroad into existence, could not be used to create private ownership, and any claim that the railroad is private property would render such acts null and void—as in conflict with the Constitution of the United States; and whenever the corporation intrusted by the State with the construction and conduct of a highway uses its power for gain not consistent with the public good the State should prevent, or it would stand in the attitude of placing private interests above the public good, which would be a violation of the trust imposed by the people. Railroads, therefore, being public highways, and not private, it follows that their use should be open to all the people on perfect equality, and therefore any discrimination would be in wanton defiance of the laws that created them and an abuse of which the people have just right to complain. A railroad has the right to own a franchise in its track and right of way, but it has no right to own a legislature, or control courts and public officers that they may do its bidding. It has no right to assume governmental function or interfere in our elections, as the roads do all over this land. You can hear of the railroads supporting this candidate here and another there. They are becoming a political guild, to levy tribute by their capital and commercial powers upon the business of the people; they would, forsooth, be modern barons with supreme power. The time, brothers, has come when they must be controlled or they will control this country. If they can be controlled, then all right; but if abuses are not thus corrected, then the Alliance is right to demand their ownership. It would be impossible for me to go into detail. In the discussion of the abuses the corporations controlling the railroads have practiced upon the public it would only be necessary in defense of this demand to state that the right of control by the government is not denied by the railroads, and the Alliance only asks the government to exercise that right at once and so thoroughly that all abuses shall cease or the government own them. It seems to me that the government had better own them than for them to own and control the government, as they are unquestionably doing to-day. It is a

well-known fact that the Standard Oil Trust owes its control of the oil trade entirely to unjust and illegal discrimination in railroad charges, and it seems that the railroads are responsible for the great majority of the trusts, as they would not be possible without their collusion. In many cases the trusts own the railroads, and are able to strangle competition with all ease. Such has been the conduct of the corporations controlling transportation, and so enormous the amount of capital involved that I have long since come to the conclusion that the only remedy for the present abuses is the government ownership. I have not come to this conclusion hastily and without due consideration, but after a long fight looking for relief from every source possible, and being compelled at last to conclude that the power is too great; that the evil has been allowed to run too long, and that nothing short of ownership by the government will be able to reach the case. But we will try control once more, and if it fails to cure the terrible abuses now practiced by them there will be nothing left but government control. The past management by the corporations has been infamous and absolutely without any regard to the interest of the people, in violation of law and in defiance of the government. To show you the amount of fictitious indebtedness, and the amount of interest paid on the same, the land donated by the government and other aid extended, and the amount of actual cost to those who engineered their construction, the following table is presented for your inspection:

Mileage in operation 154,275.	
Total railroad indebtedness.....	\$9,608,487,309
Average cost per mile \$62,275.....	
Actual cost per mile \$20,000.....	
This makes actual cost of railroads.....	3,085,500,000
Amount of fictitious values.....	\$6,521,987,309
Interest annually paid on fictitious values by increased freight rate.....	391,319,238
Land donated to railroads, 224,361,001 acres, valued at \$8 per acre amounts to.....	1,794,528,008
Government aid.....	85,500,000
State aid.....	175,000,000
Municipal and individual aid.....	1,000,700,000
Total donations.....	\$3,055,728,008
Leaving actual cost of the entire railroad system in the United States to present owners.....	29,771,992

Those whom the people trusted to represent them are mainly

to blame for the vast amount of land donated and other aid extended by Government, State and National, but the amount of fictitious values are chargeable to the dishonest management of the railroads by the corporations, and shows the absolute necessity for the most rigid control or ownership by the government. It is true that a great deal of this fictitious value does not draw interest, but where it is stock it votes and has a voice in the control of the roads, and is to blame for a great amount of the speculation, combines, pools, rate wars, discriminations and other abuses. Corporate management of railroads is on trial before the country to-day. Again, the actual earnings are covered up by this method. The earnings of 154,275 miles of railroads was in 1889, \$1,079,890,000 gross, or \$320,109,428 net income, being 10 per cent interest estimated on amount said to be invested, \$9,607,587,309; but if you take out the fictitious value or watered stock and estimate it on the amount said to be actually invested, \$3,085,500,000 it would be over thirty per cent. It is claimed by the railroads that it takes sixty per cent of their gross earnings to pay running expenses, and so forth. Here again you see the hand of corporate management. Let me call your attention to a few of their so-called expenses:

Salaries paid to corporation officials.....	\$50,000,000
Traveling expenses for same, office rent, etc.....	50 000,000
Attorneys' fees paid by them.....	25,000,000
Money used in lobbying.....	1,000,000
Money used in elections, etc.....	1,000 000
Total.....	\$127,000,000

Of course these figures in regard to lobbying and for elections are only estimated, but it is known that a large amount of money has been used, and is still being used in that way, probably more than the estimate. All of it and other expenses of the corporations must be paid by the people, because the railroads are public highways, and all cost of operating them must be paid by the people, whether legitimate or not. Now all of this expense, of whatever nature, incurred on account of the corporations would not be necessary, if the railroads were owned and controlled by the government as is the postal service, which is an unanswerable argument in favor of government ownership. But the Alliance does not demand ownership unless it is found impossible to cure the abuses of power by the corporations complained of. I wish it distinctly understood that the Alliance is

not opposed to railroads, nor would it harm the honest capital invested in them, and is hostile only to the mismanagement of corporations. I have but little hope of their control, or that they of their own account will correct the present abuses, and it seems that I am not alone in my opinion, for The New York *Herald* reports Mr. Stickney as having said at the recent meeting of the railroad presidents that:

You are all gentlemen, here in your private capacity. As such, I would trust any of you with my watch, and I would believe the word of any of you. But in your capacity as railroad presidents, I would not believe one of you under oath, and I would not trust one of you with my watch.

Now, when it is remembered that Mr. Stickney is president of the Chicago, St. Paul and Kansas Railroad (and as such obtained his experience), it would seem that he would be qualified to speak understandingly on this subject. I cannot here quote to you the statements of such men as Judge Cooley of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and railroad presidents like Franklin B. Gowen and Charles Francis Adams. **They all condemn our present railroad management as corrupt and criminal.** But no man can really understand the crushing power of our present railroad system until his own business has been destroyed by discriminations against his shipments and he has demonstrated his utter weakness in trying to enforce his just claims in our courts, held and operated, as they are in most cases, by the power of our great corporations.

I cannot here enumerate the methods employed by powerful combines in gathering in the hands of a few men, the earnings of the many. A few transportation lords are able to fix the price the farmer receives for his cattle, hogs and grain, as well as the prices that consumers must pay for meat, flour and fuel. As the demand for government control is right and in the interest of, all true patriots will approve and support it.

THE DEMAND FOR FINANCIAL REFORM.

The next demand to which I wish to call your attention is fraught with more of weal or woe to the American people than any that has ever demanded the attention of the country. As amended at Ocala, it reads thus:

1a. We demand the abolition of national banks.

b. We demand that the government shall establish sub-treasuries or depositories in the several States, which shall loan money direct to the people at a low rate of interest, not to exceed 2 cent per annum, on

non-perishable farm products, and also upon real estate, with proper limitations upon the quantity of land and amount of money.

c. We demand that the amount of the circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

First, we demand the abolition of national banks; by this the Alliance means banks of issue. We believe the government alone has the right to make money, and in the national banking system the government has delegated that power to the banks, without restriction as to the amount they should keep in circulation. With the latitude allowed great abuses have grown up in connection with them, and the circulation has been contracted or expanded to suit the money power to the great hurt of the farmers and laborers of the country. The property of any country is at the mercy of those who can control its money, and believing this to be so the Alliance rightly demands the abolition of the national banks as banks of issue.

Second, we demand that the government shall establish sub-treasuries or depositories in the several States, which shall loan money direct to the people at a low rate of interest, not to exceed 2 per cent per annum on imperishable farm products, and also upon real estate with proper limitations upon the quantity of land and amount of money. In this demand the Alliances intended to provide for increasing the circulating medium by advancing money on land, (which they demand shall be increased to \$50 per capita). In the advance on farm products the intention was to give to the circulation that flexibility absolutely necessary to the welfare and protection of the farmers.

Now, let us first look at the necessity of an increase in the circulation. I believe that I shall be able to prove to the satisfaction of my fair-minded man, that a very great crime has been committed against the people by the contraction of our circulation. If you will examine statistics for the last twenty-five years, you will find that they will prove three things:

1. That the per capita volume of currency has been constantly and materially lessened.
2. That bankruptcies and failures have rapidly multiplied in consequence.
3. That the national debt during this period has increased instead of being diminished.

In confirmation of the first statement I wish to call your at-

attention to the following table (which has prepared by N. A. Dunning, statistician and author of "The Philosophy of Price.") It has been compiled with care, and is as correct as it is possible to make it, and will not fall much short of the exact amount in circulation:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Circulation.</i>	<i>Per capita.</i>
1856.....	35,819,282	\$1,963,409,216	\$52.01
1867.....	36,269,502	1,350,949,218	37.51
1868.....	37,016,949	794,756,112	21.47
1869.....	37,779,800	740,705,638	19.34
1870.....	38,558,371	691,028,377	18.70
1871.....	39,750,073	670,344,147	16.18
1872.....	40,978,604	661,641,363	16.14
1873.....	42,245,110	652,896,772	15.45
1874.....	43,550,756	632,032,773	14.51
1875.....	44,896,705	630,427,609	13.04
1876.....	46,284,344	620,316,970	13.40
1877.....	47,714,829	586,325,074	12.28
1878.....	48,955,306	549,540,087	11.23
1879.....	50,155,783	534,124,248	10.65
1880.....	51,660,456	528,524,267	10.23
1881.....	52,693,665	610,632,433	11.51
1882.....	53,747,538	651,404,084	12.23
1883.....	54,812,488	648,205,895	11.82
1884.....	55,908,737	591,476,978	10.58
1885.....	57,016,911	533,495,001	9.35
1886.....	58,157,249	470,574,361	8.08
1887.....	59,320,393	423,452,221	7.13
1888.....	60,506,800	398,719,212	6.68
1889.....	61,717,936	306,999,082	4.97

Now let us see the effects of this iniquitous contraction; let us see what effect it has had upon the business interests of the country. To do this I present a table from the same source, showing the business failures from 1865 to 1889, and the amount of liabilities:

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Liabilities.</i>
1865.....	520	\$17,625,000
1866.....	632	47,333,000
1867.....	2,780	96,666,000
1868.....	2,608	63,694,000
1869.....	2,799	75,054,000
1870.....	3,551	88,242,000
1871.....	2,915	85,252,000
1872.....	4,069	121,036,000
1873.....	5,183	228,499,000
1874.....	5,830	155,239,000
1875.....	7,740	201,000,000
1876.....	9,092	191,117,000
1877.....	8,872	190,669,000
1878.....	10,478	234,483,132
1879.....	6,658	98,149,053
1880.....	4,735	65,752,000
1881.....	5,582	81,155,932

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Liabilities.</i>
1882.....	6,738	102,000,000
1883.....	9,184	172,874,172
1884.....	10,968	226,343,427
1885.....	11,211	267,540,264
1886.....	12,292	229,288,238
1887.....	12,042	335,121,888
1888.....	13,348	247,659,956
1889.....	13,277	312,496,742
Total	161,332	3,919,394,824

The above table, though appalling, does not give more than one-half the failures. There are a great many failures never reported. If you will compare this table with the one above you will see that the number of failures has kept pace with the reduction of the circulation. This table will not agree with Bradstreets, because a certain per cent is here added for failures of a smaller amount than that paper recognizes. It does look like the government had conspired with its creditors to defraud the many that the few might accumulate fortunes that are to-day a menace to the liberty of the country, and to do this they have caused 162,000 business men to go through the horrors of bankruptcy, and \$400,000,000 of property to be wrongfully transferred, because there was not an adequate amount of circulation. Do you believe this to have been right? Is the nation greater or stronger therefor? Conditions that conspire to produce such an effect (and for no other reason than that bonds might bear twenty-five per cent premium) are surely unwise and unjust, and honest human nature demands that the wrong be righted.

I have endeavored to show the effects of contraction on the business interests. Now, I wish to call your attention to the third proposition, that the public debt is greater than at the close of the war, notwithstanding the enormous amounts that the people have paid on it in principal, interest, and premiums.

The national debt in 1866 amounted to \$2,783,000,000. We have paid on the principal of the public debt \$1,599,665,312, and as interest on same \$2,540,726,049, and a further sum of \$58,540,000 as premiums on bonds purchased, amounting in all to \$4,198,931,361. Yet we find the debt of the nation has actually increased if paid in the labor and products of the people (any person of ordinary intelligence knows it can not be paid in anything else); that is to say, it will take more labor products to

pay what we now owe at present prices than it would have taken to pay the entire indebtedness in 1866 at the prices then. As proof of this the table below is given. In regard to its correctness, reference is called to any authentic price lists of products for the years named :

INCREASE OF THE NATIONAL DEBT IF PAID IN FARM PRODUCTS.

Debt in 1867, \$2,783,000,000.

Debt in 1890, \$1,183,334,688.

<i>Products necessary.</i>	<i>Amount, 1866.</i>	<i>Amount, 1890.</i>	<i>Actual increase.</i>
Beef, barrels.....	129,000,000	236,666,937	107,666,937
Pork, barrels.....	87,000,000	147,916,836	60,916,836
Wheat, bushels.....	1,007,000,000	1,972,222,448	965,222,448
Oats, bushels.....	3,262,350,000	5,917,773,340	2,755,423,340
Corn, bushels.....	2,218,000,000	3,944,448,893	1,726,448,893
Cotton, pounds.....	*7,092,000,000	13,148,162,755	6,056,162,755
Wool, pounds.....	4,281,538,451	4,733,338,752	551,800,301

This table clearly shows that notwithstanding the national debt has been nearly twice paid in principal and interest, the portion which yet remains is larger than the original. This statement will not hold good, when mere dollars and cents are considered, but is absolutely true as regards the amounts of the products of labor that are necessary to purchase these different sums of money. The matter stands about as follows :

Had the debt been contracted to be paid in wheat it would have taken, in 1886, 1,007,000,000 bushels :

	<i>Bushels</i>
We have paid on the principal.....	1,786,460,000
As interest.....	2,823,328,000
As premium on bonds.....	62,770,000
Total paid.....	4,652,558,000
We yet owe.....	1,958,389,084

Had the debt been contracted to be paid in cotton it would have taken, in 1867, 7,092,000,000 pounds.

	<i>Pounds.</i>
We have paid on the principal.....	16,077,683,000
As interest.....	25,407,260,000
As premium on bonds.....	565,000,000
Total paid.....	42,049,948,000
We yet owe.....	11,752,316,000

When it is remembered that all private indebtedness has gone through the same process; that a mortgage which was given prior to 1872, and remains half unpaid, is larger and more burdensome than when first given; that the man who has worked

hard and economized closely during all these years to pay one-half or two-thirds of his indebtedness is no better off, and in nearly every case more in debt than when he first began measured by the remuneration received for his own efforts, is there any wonder that the Alliance demands an increase in the circulation? Have not the people borne enough? They have paid the debt twice over, and yet they owe the bondholders more of their labor than they did at the commencement. With their private debts doubled, I cannot see why we have remained standing idly by permitting this canker to eat into the vitals of our prosperity. Had we, my friends, been organized this grievous crime against labor could not have been perpetrated. Then let us awaken from our lethargy, and as one man oppose ourselves to this mighty power of money to oppress. Something must be done to check this monstrous evil; some way provided to even up the conditions between the producer and the man who commands the money. Some plan by which the people's money can be kept out of the hands of Wall street; for this power to control the circulation is the mighty engine by which you have been robbed, as no people ever were; through it the debt of the nation is harder to pay than it ever was. Your debts have been doubled, homes lost or mortgaged, and instead of the farmer being of the most independent class, he has become the most dependent. The places of honor that knew him once know him no more; and yet, upon this man, the producer of wealth, all prosperity depends. To this same cause we can turn and find a logical reason for our millions of tramps. The gulf between Dives and Lazarus is widening each day. Millionaires are increasing and doubling their millions, while the people are becoming poorer and poorer. Then in the name of justice let us stand by the Alliance in its demands and send no one to represent us that will not support them. I think the people have suffered long enough, and the time has come when we should all work and vote to take the circulation out of the hands of Wall street and place it in the hands of the people, where it ought to have been kept, and where it must return and remain, or the laborer of America is doomed to a life of serfdom.

THE ALLIANCE PLAN OF RELIEF.

To accomplish this—that is, to put the control of the circulation in the hands of the people, and to supply that flexibility neces-

sary to prevent fluctuation and consequent discrimination against the producer, the Alliance has introduced the sub-treasury bill, and at Ocala demanded its passage by a rising vote, with only four votes against it. In the discussion of this bill by the politicians and partisan press, there has been a total want of argument to sustain any of the attacks made upon it. Misrepresentation and assertions have been freely indulged in, and every effort has been made to prejudice the people against it by declaring that it was paternal, class legislation, unconstitutional, etc. They have never dared deny that it would accomplish the results claimed for it—that is, give the farmer a circulation that they can always get at a cost of not over 2 per cent, and the flexibility of which will cure the great evil of fluctuation and consequent discrimination the producers are now suffering from. As a fair presentation of the sub-treasury plan, I quote from A. C. Houston, Pickaway, West Virginia, as follows:

All agree that the government has the power to create a circulating medium of exchange. Its right to make "promises to pay" that medium, and consequently a legal tender for debt, has passed beyond the realm of controversy. There is a legal principle, coeval with delegated powers, affirming that where a certain power is granted there passes all rights necessary to its execution. By this principle has been determined and enforced what, in legal phrase, have been aptly called "the incidental powers of government." Congress, then, having the power to make legal tender treasury notes, in providing a currency for the people has, as incidental thereto, what I have called at the head of this paper, the power of distribution. Treasury notes printed and locked up in the treasury vaults would be but the half performance of an imposed duty. Under a system of free coinage metal is made a medium and is distributed by the owners of the bullion. When certificates are issued upon value the method of distribution is virtually the same. But how shall the government distribute its "promises to pay?" Having then the power to distribute, the government has also the right to choose the best legal method by which it can be accomplished. The national banking system is only a method of distribution, and upon this incidental power of government its legality rests, but it has proved to be a costly and dangerous method, and the people groaning under its power of oppression are asking that some other plans of distribution be substituted.

Another fact: Our industrial history has demonstrated that at a certain season of the year an increase in the circulating medium is needed. When the farmer's harvest is being marketed there is needed not an expansion or an elastic movement of existing currency, but a flow of new commercial blood, with a sequent ebb. So this power of distribution must be exercised to meet a certain, ever-recurring annual necessity and must not be confounded with the normal per capita circulation. But in order to save the government harmless, this annual flow must have a basis—a security. Bonds, the evidence of the nation's debts, are the security of bank circulation, but the owners of the debt

determine the amount of circulation, and therefore the plan is objectionable as placing the control of the circulation with the banks instead of the people. This evil is far-reaching, and its effects have proven very destructive to the interests of agriculture.

Now, the Farmers Alliance proposes a better plan of distribution, furnishing as good, a better security than national indebtedness, and a plan that places the control of the circulation beyond the power of corporations. The farmer does not come to beg his government for the loan of money. He simply comes and asks that the government, in the exercise of its power of distribution to meet a fixed crisis in the industrial year, shall adopt a method which will cost the government virtually nothing, lay no hardship upon the people and meet adequately the necessity.

Another step: You cannot trust to bank reserves, to sinking fund or a Treasury surplus to meet the necessity. Neither can you put in the power of an individual the right to determine the quantity needed. Statistics are unreliable even after the fact, much more if estimated; hence it follows (and here is the pith and marrow of the whole question) that *the non-perishable product, in which are grounded the very roots of the necessity, must be made not only the basis determining the quantity of issue, but must be made also the security to protect the government from loss.*

You see, therefore, the sub-treasury plan has but three essential factors: *The necessity, the power to meet it, and the security.* Every objection to the sub-treasury scheme which does not attack one of these factors is either irrelevant or an objection to some proposed detail carrying the plan into effect.

As to the second objection, that the plan will result in placing more money in circulation than is necessary and therefore unsettle all values. This is founded on an erroneous view of the object of the plan. It is not to increase the normal per capita circulation, but to provide for a certain extraordinary necessity, occurring yearly, wherein the cause of the need determines the quantity to be used and supplies the security. The necessity for an increase of circulation for the business of the whole country is a different question, and is not covered by the sub-treasury method of distribution. Every legal-tender Treasury note or its equivalent returns to the Treasury, in the sequent ebb we have spoken of above, at the time the product is sold, when the agent of the government takes up the issued certificates, there to lie until the next annual flow is required. It is true that for a time it adds to the currency of the country, but as a flow of money it stands apart from the necessary and continuous per capita circulation which must be enlarged by some other means.

First, let us discuss the necessity for a circulation such as this plan provides. This has not been denied by any of the celebrated letter writers who have opposed it, and there is now before Congress a plan prepared by Mr. Windom, Secretary of the Treasury, to give more flexibility to the circulation, stating that more money was required in one season of the year and recognizing the absolute necessity that our circulation be cured of its want of power to adapt itself to the necessity of the people. Now I wish to digress for a few moments and examine the two plans. Mr. Windom proposes that the government issue bonds

to the amount of the national debt, bearing 2 per cent interest. These bonds to be interconvertible—that is when more money is needed the bonds can be converted into money (and provides that the government print treasury notes and hold them in the treasury for that purpose); then when the stringency has passed the money may again be converted into bonds. Now let us see the effects of such a system. It seems that a circulation bottomed on such bonds would be objectionable, first, because it leaves the power of distribution in the hands of the bondholders, and permits them to levy tribute upon the industrial classes in interest, and does not take the power of control away from them and place it in the hands of the people, who should be able to contract or expand as they should see to their interest. Then why have the government pay 2 per cent on bonds when the people are ready and anxious to furnish better security and pay the government 2 per cent for the use of it? Again, the flexibility of Mr. Windom's circulation would be liable to contract when the farmers wanted more money, and expand when the bondholders wanted more. We would like to be excused from a plan that would enable the exploiting or speculating classes to manipulate the currency ad libitum, with fatal results to the farmers. I have no doubt but Mr. Windom intended to provide what he sees to be a great want in the circulation, but he has studied finance in Wall street and has consulted its interests, and not those of the industrial classes. Mr. Windom's plan again makes possible the wildest speculation, because the ebb and flow of money is not controlled save by the will of those who hold the bonds. Now, in the sub-treasury plan the money circulated by it is bottomed on wealth produced by the farmers, and must ebb and flow in such ratio as it is required to exchange or move those products upon which it is based. Therefore there never can be too much or too little if a large crop is raised; then the farmers' drafts and checks can be drawn for a large amount of money. And so if the crop is small. Coming and going with absolute certainty, and in the exact amount the necessity demands, without one dollar's expense to the government. Such are the two plans. One is called unconstitutional, paternal, class, laughed at, the committee on ways and means refusing to report it. The other is

given consideration at once, and finds many admirers among our Senators.

THE NEED FOR MORE MONEY.

But let us return from the digression and examine a little further as to the necessity for such an addition to the circulation as the plan proposes. I believe it has been clearly shown that by the contraction of our circulation values have been changed, until now money is worth three and four times as much as it was in 1865, when we had \$52 per capita in circulation. This shows plainly that the price of farm produce is dependent largely on the amount of money in circulation, and that while supply and demand is claimed to control prices, we find prices have gone down as the supply of money has decreased. Then we find that supply and demand has a double meaning when applied to price. That is, the supply of money as well as produce must be taken into consideration. If we were to decrease the wheat crop and not decrease the money, then wheat would be higher; but if we were to decrease the money as well, then prices would not increase. So if we produce a crop, and when we have it ready for market money goes up, then prices go down. Now, this is what happens every year when we are ready to sell. Money goes up because there is a greater demand for it. The farmers in three months of the year offer \$7,000,000,000 worth of produce for sale, largely increasing the demand for money. Now, if there is no way to meet this demand with an increase of the circulation, then the greatly increased demand has the effect of a violent contraction, and consequently prices drop. Thus the producers are at the mercy of money. This condition of the circulation causes fluctuation and discrimination against the farmers that have in the last 68 years averaged 40 per cent. If any one will for one moment consider the range of prices and produce at the different months of the year, he will at once see the absolute necessity for this addition to our circulation.

If there is a necessity for such an addition, then the next question is, will the sub-treasury plan meet that necessity? On this I do not conceive there could be an argument. The producer on his security can obtain money as cheaply as the banker on his, and is not compelled to go to Wall street for money with which to hold his produce until the consumer wants

it, and it would go from one to the other direct, paying no interest or other unnecessary robber tolls, and thus benefit both consumer and producer. Yes, it will cure the evil and rob money of its power to oppress the industrial classes; it will add the necessary flexibility to our circulation without cost to the government or harm to any legitimate interests.

THE SECURITY ADEQUATE.

Now as to the security offered ; I am ready to defend it against all who may disparage it, as not only as good but the best that can possibly (from any source) be had, especially when it is remembered that the price of farm produce is fixed upon a gold basis. Then the security offered by the farmers on which to bottom the circulation they demand is the best possible because it only asks the government 80 per cent of its gold value. The security is not gold, but has a gold value. Then if gold bullion is a good basis on which to bottom certificates, why not cotton, wheat, or tobacco, up to that value? No better security can possibly be found, and I have not seen where an opponent of the plan has dared to dispute that, properly insured, the security was not perfect. The farmer has to pay all storage and insurance now, and that at an exorbitant rate, so he is willing to pay all actual expenses of that kind to the government, besides paying all other legitimate expenses. Then if the security is good and the plan will meet the necessity (which necessity no one denies), we will leave the sub-treasury plan proper and examine the bill introduced to carry the plan into effect.

There is only one provision of the bill that I wish to call your attention to, and that is the storage of the produce by the government. Upon this detail the opponents of the measure have poured out their vials of wrath. This feature has been singled out by them, and grave Senators and Congressmen have ranted against the whole plan, declaring it unconstitutional, class, paternal, and that it would make of the government a pawn broker, a junket shop, etc. Now do you know what these grave gentlemen put me in mind of? There is a certain fish in the sea known as the skunk fish. Now when this fish finds itself opposed by anything it fears, it immediately emits a fluid that colors the water, and by blinding its opponent it escapes, as our grave representative fish have hoped to do by their attacks upon this one feature. They have hoped to (through prejudice)

color the water, or rather to throw dust in the people's eyes and get them to pronounce against the plan. In times past (and thank God they are past) this would have worked, but now, gentlemen, the people are awake and demand argument instead denunciation, and proof in place of assertion. Unfortunately for them, this they have not been able to give. Now, as to the first charge that storage by the government is unconstitutional. In the first place, that is not a matter for them to discuss. It pertains to the judiciary, and the United States Supreme Court alone could decide that question. But if we are to judge by the past, then the government has taken silver and United States bonds on deposit for the same purpose, (as security on which to issue money). Then why not the farmers' produce? In the storage of silver and bonds the government pays all expenses of storage and loss by shrinkage of values. But the farmer offers to pay storage, cost of issue, etc., and leave in the hands of the government 20 per cent of their security, gold value, to provide against shrinkage in values or otherwise. This makes the government whole against a possibility of loss, and no reason can be assigned as to why it should be unconstitutional to store them as well as others. As to it being class, that is clap-trap nonsense, for in the very nature of things when you benefit the farmer you benefit all others, unless it be the speculators. As to the warehouse, government has the same right to build them that it has to make any other public improvement.

A PLATFORM TO STAND ON.

These demands are the platform of the Alliance, and I am like a man that was making a speech in Topeka, Kans., during the last canvass. In speaking of the People's party he said: "I hope you have made your platform to stand on, and not to get in on. If you will go down to the depot you will see a little platform on each car, and in plain view you would see, written in large letters, 'Don't stand on this platform.' He hoped that the People's party would not have that sign over theirs, but one that read, 'Stand on this platform.'" And I do hope, brothers of the Alliance, you will be always found standing on your platform.

In speaking to you I have endeavored to fairly present the demands of the Alliance to show you the necessity for good attendance, unity of action, and education. Now, let me in

conclusion urge you, in the name of your country and family, do something. Let the country know you are alive. Have your say, make your weight felt, let your impress be seen upon every measure of public moment. This country belongs to the people—all the people. The government is theirs, and all officers are their servants, who must obey their behests, and will do so when the people determine to take matters in their own hands and hold responsible all who do not heed their demands. Who should rule? Who should determine the policies of government? The people. If we have had bad government we are to blame. We have not done our duty. We can't escape the responsibility; it is upon us. We have let matters go by default long enough. It is time to act. It is criminal to permit the reins of government to remain in the hands of the combines, trusts, and monopolies longer. The Alliance does not dictate what you shall do, or how you shall do it. You are left free to do as you please. You have been investigating the conditions, discussing them in your sub-Alliance. You have sent your best member to represent you in the National Council of the Alliance, and they have made demands. Now, elect men who will carry them out; they are just; they will bring relief. If you believe they are right, then the man who will not support them does not represent you, and it would be to act against your own interests if you elect such a one to legislate for you. Action must be the watchword. You can not depend on others to do for you. It's like the two old freedmen who wanted a thanksgiving turkey, and being pious they concluded to pray for one. They did so for two weeks; but no turkey; so one day Uncle Peter went to see his neighbor, Uncle Paul, and said, "Brudder Paul, has you got your turkey?" "No, Brudder Peter; Betsy and me been praying mlightily, but the Lord ain't sent him. Has you got your'n, Brudder Peter?" "Yes, I got a fine gobbler." "Did the Lord send him?" "Well, Brudder Paul, the other night I changed my prayer and asked the Lord to send me after one, and he sent me that night; and I got him." So with you, brothers of the Alliance, be up and doing, and remember if you get a turkey you must go after it.